RACIAL AWARENESS, IDENTITY AND PREFERENCE OF SOUTH ISLAND MAORI AND PAKEHA CHILDREN

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ABSTRACT

One hundred and twenty five Maori and Pakeha children aged from five to ten were drawn from three primary schools in the Christchurch metropolitan area. Each completed tests of racial awareness, identity, preference, and stereotypes. At each age level the children were capable of making distinctions by race, although race was shown to be a less salient variable than sex. By use of the 'identikit' method, Pakeha children were shown to have little misidentity, while Maori children showed a decreasing age tendency to identify themselves as being white. Previous North Island studies have found this tendency to be associated with a decreasing desire to be white. The present study revealved an increasing preference for white of Maori children. This is a probable reflection of differences between North and South Island social contexts. While preferences were biased towards white, Pakeha children showed an increasing preference for dark skin, although it was unclear whether this indicated a racial preference, as Pakeha children displayed a significant age tendency of own-race friendship preference. In addition, both races held stereotypes of the Maori as Naughty at school and less academically proficient than the Pakeha. As a worker, the Pakeha was seen as the 'boss' although as professionals no distinction was made. The Maori saw the Pakeha as more likely to be 'mean'.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The study was initiated by an apparent gap in the body of research so far undertaken concerning the development of racial awareness, identity, and preference of New Zealand children. South Island Maori children are yet to be included in such a study. With the exception of Awatere's 1972 study, previous research of this kind has been conducted in the first half of the last decade, and has concentrated in the North Island.

That differences, real or apparent, between ethnic or racial groups within a particular society are actually perceived, has been the starting point of much of the related research in this area. The ultimate concern of the investigators has been, however, with those perceptions which involve affective or evaluative elements, thus viewed in terms of phenomena such as prejudice and stereotyping. Of particular concern, and the impetus for this study, is the extent to which prevailing attitudes towards minority ethnic groups influence those who are most vulnerable to the subtle processes of socialization. It is the subsequent patterning of the perceptions and self-evaluations of young children in terms of their awareness of racial membership, and the connotation that such membership holds for them, that forms the basis of this study.

The remainder of this chapter will provide an historical, social, and psychological resume of the phenomeon of racial prejudice, particularly as it relates to the situation of the principle minority group in New Zealand - the Maori.*

*"Minority" and such terms, refer generally to the relative social position of ethnic groups. It can be accepted that "majority" in the South African context is not equated with "dominant".

Chapter II will outline current thinking on the development of ethnic identity and prejudice, and how the interaction of these two processes present particular difficulty for the evolving self -image of the minority child. The possible behavioural outcomes of "role-stereotyping" will be discussed, with particular attention to the role of the educational process. Chapter III will include a review of studies of racial awareness, identity, and preference in children, both overseas and in New Zealand. A consideration of the conceptual and methodological issues invoked by these studies will conclude the background and lead up to the present research design.

2. THE HISTORY OF PREJUDICE

Historians have been generous in their elucidation of man's age -old tendency to impute constitutional inferiorities to various racial or ethnic groups in order to justify their subjugation, be it for social, economic, or political purposes. Advancements in biological and anthropological knowledge in the 18th and 19th centuries, rather than curtailing this tendency, provided instead "scientific" support for the belief in the inherent inferiorities of non-white races. The "natives" who bore the brunt of the "white man's burden" in the period of colonization by the European imperialist nations, provide bitter testimony to how official racism justified the exploitation of lands and peoples, including those of New Zealand.

Blatant racism, based as it were on the assumption of genetic inferiority, was largely eroded after the abolition of slavery. This view is however, expounded to a certain extent today, and tends to be associated with right-wing political allegiences. Various fringe groups in New Zealand, such as the National Front and the National Socialist White Peoples Party, are obvious ex - amples. While socio-cultural differences have largely displaced genetic arguments for the dichotomizing of ethnic groups on an inferior-superior basis, it remains to be seen whether the increasing social mobility of minority groups in the developing Western nations in particular will be accompanied by renewed emphasis on genetic evidence to justify social stratification along racial lines. Some contempory researchers, although not necessarily motivated by a racist ideology, have generated debate as to the role of genetic factors in the determination of intellectual potentials. (Jensen 1969a 1969b 1972 , Eysenck 1971). Many, however, question the validity, or even desirability of such contention, stressing the near impossibility of evaluation or defining "intelligence" in a culture-free context, of accounting for variances in background and en - vironment, in personality and motivation, and of assessing the effects of the testing situation, as they relate to the outcomes of tests of intelligence.

The issue of race and intelligence will be further discussed in subsequent sections.

3. RACISM IN NEW ZEALAND

(a) Historical Context

New Zealand was settled by Polynesians some 300 years prior to European discovery. After the establishment of whaling stations around the coast around 1772, there was an influx to New Zealand by European settlers, particularly after the infamous Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. The treaty provided for the extension of all the rights and privileges of British subjects to the Maori people, and the securing of all territorial rights to the Maori chiefs and their tribes (with the Crown having sole right to purchase), in return for the ceding of powers of sovereignty to the Queen. There followed however, an increasing wariness of the Maori to the fact that European civilization brought with it more than the mere benefits of utilitarian items, such as clothing, weapons, and implements. European diseases helped reduce the Maori population by one half during the 19th century. The settlers quest for land, to be obtained by fair means or foul, despite the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi, culminated in the "Maori Wars" of 1860 - 1872. European military supremacy finally resulted in total Maori subserviance to the political and economic ends of the European, with Maori lands being literally confiscated.

Adaptation to European civilization entailed a severe erosion of Maori cultural values and traditional life-styles, particularly as young Maoris began to look to the world of the Pakeha (white New Zealander) as a means to self - betterment.

(b) Social Context

(i) Demography

The current Maori population comprises about 8% of the total New Zealand Population. The proportion is currently increasing due to the effects of a high Maori birth rate (26.82 per 1000 c.f. 18.25 per 1000 for the total N.Z. population, inclusive of Maoris) [1] and the effects of inter-marriage.

Consequently the Maori population is younger than the non-Maori population, with 49% of Maoris being under 15 years of age (c.f. 32% for N.Z. as a whole).[2] Of sociological significance is the increasing urbanization of the Maori. While in 1936 19% of Maoris lived in townships of 1000 or more, this figure had increased to 70% in 1971, the greatest concentration being in the Auckland area, which has also seen an increasing influx of Pacific island migrants.[3]

The Maori New Zealander occupies an inferior position on the socio-economic scale to the Pakeha, as an examination of the various social indices will show.

(ii) Education and vocation

While 12.5% of the Pakeha working population can be classified as professional, technical and related workers, only 3.8% of Maoris can be so classified. In 1966, 50% of employed Maori males earned less than $1800, compared with 26.6% of Pakeha men, constituting a per capita income of around $330 for Maoris, and $660 for Pakehas.[5] The census for that year records 90% of Maoris in the labour force as having no educational qualifications, with 75% being classed as either semi-skilled or unskilled. In 1973 11% of non-Maori school leavers entered university, while 1.4% of Maoris did so. While 4.3% of Maoris left school with U.E. or better, 27.3% of non-Maoris did so.[6]

(iii) Infant mortality and life expectancy.

The Maori infant mortality rate is just over 25% greater than that of the non-Maori population.[7] In the 1970 - 1972 period, Maori males had a life expectancy of 8.13 years less than Pakeha males; Maori females, 10.2 years less than Pakeha females.[8]

(iv) Crime

Of Maori youths born in 1954 and 1955, 40% had made a court appearance by their 17th birthday, compared to 10% of non-Maori youths of the same age.[9] In 1972 41% of male, and 75% of female prisoners were Maori.[10]

Some of this discrepancy has been said to result from the ethnocentric practices of the New Zealand Department of Justice. In 1977 the Secretary of Justice wrote, "We cannot claim that our Courts offer justice 'to all manner of people' if their atmosphere, their ways and their procedures are seen as alien, intimidating, or unintelligible to members of minority cultural or racial groups. We have no right to demand that members of these groups should accept the forms, trappings, and conventions of justice that we have copied from 19th century England....".[11] The implementation of the Nelson Legal Aid Scheme in 1972 (Sutherland 1973) demonstrated that the greater incarceration rate for Maori compared to non-Maori offenders, is due in part to their being less likely to be represented by legal council (44.3% c.f. 86.7%).

The Maori offender is likely to feel to a certain extent alienated from a European derived system of law, particularly if administered with little regard for his possible ignorance of its workings.

(v) The Maori "problem"; social or racial?

The above discrepancies viewed by many in terms of a social class, rather than a racial phenomenon. (Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1947). As there are no statutes or laws which can be seen to be directly discriminatory to any one race in New Zealand, many deny that racial discrimination even exists. (The same person may be heard in another context arguing that there is no social class in New Zealand). Our international race -relations are defended by our political leaders with the assertion that "ours is the finest example of a harmonious multi -racial society in the world."

The following studies suggest the extent to which the Maori is reacted to in terms of his membership of a defined racial, rather than social group.

(c) Race Relations in New Zealand

One of the earlier assessments of attitudes to Maoris was Goodwin's (1935). He found employers in a North Island rural center disfavouring Maoris as employees on the grounds that they

were unwilling and unreliable workers. Fitt (1955) reported an increase in unfavourable attitudes towards Maoris over the period 1943-47, offering increasing Maori urbanization as a possible explanation. Thompson (1953 1954a 1954b 1955) implicated the news media as a perpetuator of racial stereotypes, stemming from a then common tendency to race - label crime news. Over 50% of "Maori" headlines involved crime, sport, or accidents. While the press presented a rather negative view of the Maori, it is conceded that the press had largely redeemed itself by the 1960's.

In one of the few investigations of blatant discrimination, Ritchie (1964) discovered that of 37 Wellington hotels, 22% accepted a telephone booking for a "Mr Armstrong" immediately after declining a similar request from a "Mr Takimoana". The residents of a small North Island community were the object of Ritchie's (1963) Rikau study. He found that the Pakeha population there held three predominant stereotypes of the Maori, each incorporating a large degree of paternalism, in that the Maori was portrayed as a "noble race" debased - assuming an hisotrical stereotype sans historical explanation. Although as a race the Maori was graced with generally favourable attributes, it seemed that as individuals each Maori was seen to have fallen from this ideal. By acknowledging the genetic soundness of the race, the holders of these views had effectively immunised themselves from accusations of racism, although clearly their attitudes were both paternalistic and patronising. In all, the Maori was accepted only to the extent that he emulated Pakeha norms.

This study epitimises the overall impression of New Zealand racism, in that it is rarely blatantly malicious in intent. Prevailing attitudes are typically expressed in such a way as to assume their acceptance by the Maori himself. He is expected to condone rather than defend against humourous but derogatory references to behaviours characterized as "typically Maori". It appears that in the interests of good humour the Maori has largely accepted this form of debasement.

Jane Ritchie (1963) however, in surveying Maori women in Wellington, discovered that Maoris do in fact see the Pakeha as holding unfavourable attidues towards them, despite only 30% being able to relate personal experiences of actual discrimination.

A picture-story technique (Thompson 1959) resulted in Maoris as central figures being treated less favourably than non -Maori figures, anti-Maori bias was also found in university students by Vaughan and Quartermain (1961). A Bogardus -type scale used by Vaughan (1962) suggested that the social distance accorded to an ethnic group may be inversely proportional to the degree to which that group is judged to be physically similar to the respondent. Maoris were ranked eighth after groups of European origin in social distance but with the Maori ranked as eleventh in terms of marriage preference, it appeared that while he was a more welcome visitor to one's home that was the Russian, in the final analysis, physical similarity overrides considerations of a cultural or political nature so that the Russian was a more desirable marriage partner.

Inter -racial contact as it relates to the formation of racial attitudes, was considered by Vaughan (1957). The attidues of 16 year olds in Christchurch were found to be more unfavourable to Maoris than those of 16 year olds in Auckland, where contact with Maoris is considerably higher. Christchurch attidues appeared to be based more on an assumption of the North Island situation than on personal experience, amounting to a more stereotyped view of the Maori. Vaughan and Thompson (1961) similarly found increasing unfavourably attitudes with age, and while the attitudes of their Auckland subjects stabilized at age 12, those of the Christchurch subjects appeared even more unfavourable at age 16.

There has been little in the way of the reported discrimination which one might expect to accompany the attitude patterns reported above. It seems, therefore, that racism should not be considered only to the extent that New Zealand's anti -discrimination ethos is openly flouted. Researchers have more recently concentrated on the aspects of role-ascription and stereoptying. Archer (1975)

asked 13 to 16 year old Maoris and Pakehas from the central North Island, and Pakehas from Dunedin, to match each of 16 matched photographs - of eight Maori and eight Pakeha men, to a descriptive item. As well, they completed a semantic differential. Both races attributed the qualities of "well -to-do, university students, serious, hard-working, and good at sports," to Pakehas, while Maoris were seen as "musical, lazy, happy -go-lucky, strong, and failures." Maoris, however, did not view any one race as being more likely to "take anything left around", or to be "unwelcome in one's home." Pakehas attributed these characteristics to the Maori. Dunedin Pakehas held similar views to the North Island Pakehas, indicating the independence of such attitudes from inter-racial contact.

The nature of prejudice and the possible mechanisms underlying it's emergence bears closer examination at this point.

4. THE NATURE OF PREJUDICE

Prejudice: "being down on something you are not up on." (Allport 1966)[12] The term implies an element of faulty or inadequate knowledge, and is regarded as a cognitive construct characterized by inflexibility. With it's derivative, stereoptying, prejudice can be regarded as an "economical mode of thoght", aiding the child's understanding of the world by categorizing events and objects so that they may be responded to appropriately.
Stereotypes thus:

> ".....induce order and simplicity where there is complexity and (often) nearly random variation."
>
> (Allport 1954)[13]

Race is thus readily invoked as a "perceptual shorthand," and prejudiced attitudes and stereotyping are embodied both in individual cognisance, and in their social consequences of role-ascription and role-fulfillment.

(a) Socialization.

The emotional force of words is learned by children long

before their true meaning (Piaget 1928, Piaget and Weil 1951, Jahoda 1962, Tajfel and Jahoda 1966, Tajfel et al 1970). Political, national, and ethnic preferences have been shown to develop independently of, and even before, the learning of factual knowledge relevant to these attitudes. Tajfel (1970) has shown how children tend to behave differentially towards "ingroups" and "outgroups", concluding that society fosters in children a notion of "own" vs "other" groupness, into which race is easily incorporated.

The parents are regarded as the principle "agents of social - ization"

> "For many years the parents are the sole arbiters of "right" and "wrong" - the children are unaware that these are matters less of fact than opinion." (Milner 1975)[14]

Direct tuition in racial prejudice, while no doubt occuring in some situations, is nonetheless against the ethos of most contempory societies. Undercurrents of negative attitudes do, however, find their outlets. The meta-communicated messages within racial jokes and derogatory remarks are it seems, easily grasped by the child. Pushkin and Veness (1973) recount examples of how parental attitudes are unwittingly incorporated into the child's reality, unsupported by real -life experiences and knowledge. The socialization process will be further considered in Chapter II.

(b) Cognitive and perceptual correlates.

Piaget (1928, Piaget and Weil 1951) conceptualized a parallel, but not necessarily interconnected, development of affective and factual components of ethnic and national awareness. An increase in knowledge was not thought to necessarily influence attitudes towards a particular group. Implicit to this development is the emergence of a preference for one's own national or ethnic group, although this cannot be automatically generalized to children of minority groups within a more dominant socio -cultural context. (See Chapter II).

Hohn (1973) reports a decrease in racial bias in children following training in Piagetian-related tasks, suggesting a

perceptual rather than an affective basis to such responses. This possibility was considered by Vaughan (1957), who suggested that the white bias shown by Pakeha subjects in a test of friendship choice, may have been more a matter of choosing the figure "most like themselves" particularly as these children showed little evidence of actual hostility to the Maori.

Others regard a white bias as a manifestation of a more general orientation to light as opposed to dark. Best et al (1975) have questioned whether colour preference is, in fact, learned in a context of race. They consider cultural learning as a secondary factor which merely consolidates and amplifies the learning emergent from the historical experience of diurnal man. The validity of persuing this particular line of investigation is, although perhaps interesting, questionable.

Awareness of the possible cognitive and perceptual aspects of racial awareness and preference would help at least to avoid the "over -interpretation" of children's responses to racial stimuli.

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIALIZATION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY AND PREFERENCE

Central to this discussion is the acknowledgement that the process of identity occurs within a value -laden context, and as such the process presents particular difficulties for the minority group child.

1. IDENTITY AND IDENTITY CONFLICT

As the social world of attitudes, values, and beliefs is mediated to the child by his "significant others", he forms a concept of himself as being part of that world. It becomes subjectively real by the internalization of the roles assigned to him.

> "....as he attains a perspective on the social world as viewed from a particular role within it, so does he attain a notion of himself as enacting that role." (Milner 1975)[15]

The child becomes aware that such socially available typifi - cations (roles), entail a dichotomization of ingroups and outgroups, and while allegience is to the former, of which one is usually a member, recognition by the minority group child that he is perhaps a member of an "outgroup" presents a conflict between this recognition and its inherent undesirability.

> "As the average child learns to judge racial differences in terms of the standards of society, he is at the same time required to identify with one or other group..... The child cannot learn his racial membership without being involved in a larger pattern of conflicts and emotions which are part of his growing awareness of what society thinks of his race." (Porter 1971)[16]

But, despite his awareness of the negative connotations of his racial membership, the child has little alternative but to become what he is addressed as.

> "The child can play the game with enthusiasm or sullen resistance. But, alas, there is no other game around.....Since the child has no choice in the choice of his significant others, his identification with them is quasi-automatic, his internalization of their particular reality quasi - inevitable."
>
> (Berger and Luckmann 1973)[17]

Weinreich (1976) stresses that identity is rarely an all - or -none phenomenon. (See also Shaw 1974). While some characteristics of a particular group may be emulated, others may be dissociated from. However, given the cognitive immaturity of the very young child, he cannot be expected to be able to deal with identity conflicts in any such sophisticated manner. He may, for example, deny outright his ethnicity. As he grows older, and his cognitive sophistication demands recognition of his ethnicity, he may adopt the conflict reducing strategy of reappraising the so -called "inferior" aspects of his group membership so that they obtain a positively value distinctiveness from the "superior" group. Tajfel (1974) also invokes the active participation in the initiation of changes in the social environment as a means of obtaining a more positive identity for minority group members. Following this strategy, for example, New Zealand Maoris are called upon to take pride in Maoritanga, to revitalize and realize the Maori language, to march for Maori land rights, and to demand recognition by Pakeha society of Maori cultural values by their active incorporation into the educational processes as experienced by both Maori and Pakeha children. Contrasting with this strategy is that described by Weinreich (1976), in which even further undesirable characteristics are ascribed to the group, so that dissociation as an all-or -none process becomes an easy decision. These processes can be likened to these which occur within the context of many two-person relationships. The strategy adopted for the resolution of identity conflicts is likely to be dependent on the relative strengths of the opposing values acquired, and on the context in which they are experienced.

Christain et al (1976) argue that as conflicts of interests become apparent, salient differences between groups are likely

to be emphasized. The importance of the French language to French-Canadian nationalists, and of Gaelic to Welsh and Scottish nationalists, illustrates this point. Huygens (1977) has detailed how the Maori language may become increasingly more important to Maori identity, perhaps partly resultant of, as well as resulting in, an increasing ability to speak it, or at least from an increasing encouragement of its learning.

Value judgements require comparison with other groups. Skin colour, for example, achieves its significance only in relation to perceived differences from other groups, and the value connotations of such differences "Black" thus becomes "beautiful" in the process of conflict resolution.

2. IDENTITY, ROLE EXPECTATIONS, AND PERFORMANCE

Involving as it does an individual's self-image and self - esteem a child's awareness of his race and it's value connotations entails implications for his performance in various situations.

"Being a Maori" entails the expectation of low academic performance. The reality of the work situation may demand of the Maori worker emulation of the role of employee rather than employer. Not all social contexts demand racially-derived expectations to the same extent. The racial identity of the Maori may have direct bearing on his performance on the rugby field to the extent that "being a Maori" involves "being good at rugby". In a different context, race may assume a lesser salience. Behaviour at a school social may be more related to one's sexual identity, for example. Areas in which one's race invokes a relative salience include employment, crime, and of particular concern, education.

(a) Employment

One example serves this section well. A few years ago a television news team spoke to Maori employees at a car assembly plant, the scene of a conflict over wages and conditions. To the question, "Why do you work here?" a Maori youth responded, "We Maoris too dumb to do anything else, eh?".

(b) Crime

The policeman is as aware as anyone else that "being a Maori" entails being involved in crime at a rate that is disproportionately high compared to the rest of the population. Thus, the Maori is the object of more police scrutiny than the Pakeha, and while differential police attention arises from a realistic appraisal of the crime statistics, the Maori offender is at greater risk of detection and apprehension than the non -Maori offender. Consequently the Maori crime rate is amplified still further. Stereotypes held by the police are likely to be reinforced as most of their contact with minorities is likely to be related to crime. The greater tendency of the Maori to plead guilty in court, and the greater tendency of magistrates to impose on Maoris a custodial sentence, amplifies the racial crime discrepancies further still, discrepancies that the Maori himself is well aware of.

(c) Education

Educational authorities in New Zealand reluctantly ackknowledge that educational outcomes are racially differentiated. The disparity between the achievements of Maoris and Pakehas is one which widens with age and years spent at school. In 1973 74% of Maoris left school without gaining school certificate, compared to 36% of Pakehas. Researchers have accordingly attempted to pinpoint the factors which may be directly related to this discrepancy.

(i) Intellectual ability

The formal academic approach dominating school curricula was seen by Ritchie (1963) as likely to promote difficulties for Maori children, the cognitive processes of whom he describes as "rich in cognitive significance" when compared with those of the Pakeha. He reported that analytic problem solving is not a common feature of Maori thinking, which he describes as "socio-centric" as opposed to the more "objective" thinking of Pakehas.

Variations in cognitive patterns are also held largely responsible for differential educational outcomes by Cohen (1969). Harker (1971) suggests that if this is the case, then schools could be more correctly labelled as "cognito -centric" rather than "ethno -centric."

Comparison of Maori with Pakeha children reveals few differences in intellectual abilities, apart from those skills involving verbal abilities and expressive language, in which, not surprisingly (see next section) the Maori fares less well (Klippel, 1975, Brooks, 1976). As there appears to be no evidence that the Maori is not capable of the same academic achievements of Pakehas, language has been proferred as one of the alternative explanations for Maori under-achievement.

(iii) Language

The Native Schools Amendment Act, 1867, provided for the instruction of Maori pupils in English only. The stigma attached to the use of the Maori language was such that may Maoris hold memories of not so very long ago being punished or chastized for speaking Maori at school. Maori parents, although themselves proficient in the Maori language, discouraged its use by their children, as they saw English as an essential element of success in the Pakeha world. (Clay (1972) however, has dispelled the enduring notion that bi -lingualism detracts from the ability to learn English.) As Walker (1977) put it:

> "To be acceptable to the intolerant majority one had to suppress not only one's language, but also one's identity as a Maori and surrender one's birthright." 18

The negative effects on the Maori child's self esteem are likely to be enhanced by teachers' efforts being directed at attempting to "correct" their "inferior" English. The discovery by American linguists (e.g. Stewart 1964, 1969) that "non -standard Negro English" is a systematic rule-governed speech system rather than a faulty replication of standard English, is a concept which

could possibly be extended to encompass Maori-English. If the Maori child's "difficulty" is recognized as one of switching from a primary dialect to one which is less thoroughly internalized, then such a retention of the notion of the "legitimacy" of his language is likely to do more for his self -esteem than would the ethnocentric notions of "cultural impoverishment" and related "remedial" reactions.

(iv) Motivation, self -esteem, and "whakama."

There is evidence that both self-concept and self-esteem are associated with academic performance (Purkey 1970). Worthy of mention is the work of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), in which they demonstrated how children, particularly young children, are very susceptible to the expectations held by their teachers as to their school performance. Twenty per cent of a sample of children of an American elementary school (randomly selected) were reported to their teachers as showing unusual potential for intellectual growth. Eight months later these children showed significant gains in I.Q. compared to the other children in their calss, and this expectation advantage was still apparent after two years. Rosenthal and Jacobsom contend that children believed to be bright are treated differentially by their teachers in such a way that a more positive self -esteem and classroom motivation is fostered, thus leading to a "self -fulfilled prophecy." Katz (1973) has similarly proposed a motivational explanation for the underachievement of black American children. Differences in motivation may derive from both cultural and classroom experiences. Ausubel (1961) denoted factors of Maori family life which he considered to be incondusive to success at school. These included a basic attitude to work, in which occupational prestige as a factor in the choice of a career features little in relation to the Pakeha, and a general lack of parental concern of children's school progress. Ausubel also spoke of a conflict between home and school standards, depressed economic circumstances, and large families. Havigurst (1973) implicated the training of a shorter temporal orientation in Maori families as responsible for Maori underachievement, although Chapman and Nicholls (1976) report that Maori and Pakeha boys express similar occupational preferences. Similar aspirations or not, the Maori somehow drops out along the

way, resigning himself to the occupation of a low socio -economic position in society.

Walker (1973), in summarizing the role of the education system in the dampening of aspirational motivation, and the fostering of "whakama" (low self-esteem, inferiority, shame) in the Maori child, notes the following factors:

> i) Teachers are predominately Pakeha and monocultural, consequently teachers are generally ignorant of the other (Maori) culture and not sensitized to react to bi -culturalism and minority group needs.
>
> ii) Education is geared to a single frame of reference. Education purveys and perpetuates a cultural tradition that is ethno -centric and middle -class orientated.
>
> iii) Maori children see little of relevance to them in the education system. They succeed at sport and fail at school. School becomes a place of little value, a place to leave as soon as one turns fifteen.
>
> iv) Maoris have an ambivalent attitude to education. The Maori desires education to improve his life chances, yet at the same time he fears education for its alienating effect on the individual. In short, Maoris are afraid of their children becoming mono -cultural and losing them to the Pakeha world. (Walker 1973)

Walker thus castigates the apparent lack of sensitivity shown for the differential needs of the Maori child in the class - room. The assumption of a deprived cultural and home background largely detracts from the regard of the complex factors which arise from membership of a minority group, factors which are relatively independent of associated environmental factors in their contribution to low self -esteem and consequent classroom motivation and achievement.

CHAPTER III

RACIAL AWARENESS, IDENTITY, AND PREFERENCE IN CHILDREN

1. GENERAL FINDINGS

A consistent pattern of minority group children identifying with, and showing preference for, the dominant ethnic group over their own has emerged from the research which followed the "classic" study by Clark and Clark (1939). In that study a sizable minority of Black American children showed an unwillingness to identify themselves as black, some 33% choosing a white over a black doll as the one which most "looked like them", despite the fact that 94% of them correctly labelled the dolls in other questions. Other such studies in an American context include Goodman 1946, Morland 1958, 1962, Stevenson and Stewart 1958, and others which will be mentioned subsequently in terms of the specific issues that they raise.

In Britain Jahoda et al (1972) looked at the attitudes of immigrant children - mainly Indian and Pakistani, and while they found no particular tendency towards a distorted physical self-image a definite preference was shown for white features. Along with the white Scots children in the study they biased their attributions of favourable characteristics to white dolls, and unfavourable to the black. Six year old immigrant children did, however, regard the darker doll as being the "cleaner of the two, (an exception which could possibly be explained as a reflection of the Hindu emphasis on personal cleaniness.) Beyond the age of ten, the Scots children showed a dramatic reversal of preferences in favour of darker features. Milner (1973) similarly found a white-bias among West Indian and Asian immigrant children in London, while a negligible proportion of white English children showed an outgroup preference.

2. NEW ZEALAND STUDIES

(a) Pakeha children

Vaughan (1957) confirmed the existence of a positive relationship between the development of the concept of race with age. Pakeha children showed an increase in unfavourable attitudes towards Maoris up to the age of twelve, after which their bias appeared to reverse in favour of the Maori. Vaughan and Thompson (1961) confirmed two hypotheses; firstly, that unfavourable attitudes towards Maoris increase with age, and secondly, that unfavourable attitudes increase as inter-racial contact decreases. The latter was confirmed by their Christchurch 16 year old subjects displaying more unfavourable attitudes than the 16 year old Auckland subjects, (who experience far greater contact with Maoris) whose attitudes levelled at age 12. Archer (1972) reported no significant differences between the attitudes of 3rd and 4th form Dunedin Pakehas and those of North Island children. These studies suggest that unfavourable attitudes emerge more from an independent process of socialization than from a history of unpleasant experiences with the target group.

Vaughan (1963a) developed a series of tests designed to test the hypotheses of an ontogenetic appearance of phenomena related to the formation of an ethnic concept. He found that by age four and five Pakeha children were able to master the tests related to awareness of racial differences. By age seven they could discriminate between races and had achieved mastery of the concept of race by age ten, i.e., could correctly label figures as "Maori."

(b) Maori children

Earlier studies of racial awareness in children (Horowitz 1936, Hartley et al 1948, Goodman 1952) have implied that racial awareness develops relatively early in minority group children. Vaughan (1964a) found that the pattern of mastery of the above - mentioned tests for Maori children differed in such a way that it appeared that they attained correct identity at a much later

age than the Pakeha children. While the Pakeha mastered the tests of identification and discrimination by the ages of four, five and six, equivalent mastery for the Maori children was at age nine and ten. Beyond the age of ten no differences were apparent. The results showed that to a large extent the younger Maori children were identifying with the Pakeha, engendering speculation as to what this misidentity entails as a psychological phenomenon.

Repeating the procedure using both Maori and Pakeha children, Vaughan (1964b) added an affective component to the battery, thus providing some means by which Maori misidentity could be interpreted. In addition to identifying with the Pakeha, the Maori children at the same time indicated an actual preference for Pakeha over Maori figures, attributing negative characteristics to the latter, and positive to the former. The pakeha was denoted the more preferable playmate of the two.

While own-race preference was established in the Pakeha by age six, it was at this age that Maori own-race preference was at its lowest. It increased slightly to age eight and levelled to age twelve. It was concluded from these results that the Maori views the Pakeha world as desirable to the extent that his own is undesirable, in that the younger Maori actually denies that he is a Maori.

(c) The trend

Vaughan (1977, in press) has analysed four New Zealand studies in terms of their relationship to a continuum of social change. The studies, the year and location of their conduction are as follows:

i) Vaughan 1961, Wellington
ii) Vaughan 1963, Horowhenua
iii) Hills 1965, Northern
iv) Awatere 1971, Auckland

Each of these studies utilized similar testing materials and procedures, thus allowing for their comparison. Certain trends were found to have been replicated:

i) Awareness of ethnicity follows an orderly cognitive sequence, involving a capacity to identify with own -race figures, an ability to discriminate between figures differing by race, and the knowledge of a verbal label to designate an ethnic category.

ii) Maori children did not identify with own-race figures until relatively late in the age range.

iii) Intergroup preferences followed curvilinear trends, with both Maori and Pakeha children favouring Pakeha figures up to six or seven years of age and declining thereafter to twelve.

The social change continuum was based on a hypothesized "perceived status relationship" between Maori and Pakeha, ranging from static to fluid. The variable encompasses the notion of increasing Maori urbanization and a related change in the Maori viewpoint as to possible changes to their inferior social position in the Pakeha dominated world. Time itself played an important part in this process. It was predicted that inter-group preference would vary as a function of the perceived status relationship, and would thereby reflect the underlying process of social change. The social change outcomes were revealed as follows:

(a) A clear shift away from outgroup preference*

(b) A probable shift away from ingroup preference among Pakehas.

These trends were particularly marked in Awatere's Auckland study, which took place some five years after the previous study of Hills.

3. OVERSEAS TRENDS

Some of the more recent investigations have detected an apparent trend towards greater own-group acceptance among minority group children. Fox and Jordon (1973) replicated the Clark and Clark studies (1939, 1947), and involved American Chinese, black, and white children. Their ability to identify

*Without detracting from the validity of the social change ordering, it can be said that this finding could be expected in view of the definition of "social change" somewhat entailing this phenomenon.

figures as "black" or "white" did not differ from that of the 1939 subjects. However there was a dramatic shift away from own-race rejection by black children. Clark and Clark reported that 66% of black children were self-rejecting, whereas the replication study found 66% to be own-race oriented, while 70-80% of the white children were so. Other studies suggesting increases in own-race acceptance among minority group children include Gregor and McPherson (1966), Soares and Soares (1966), Harba and Grant (1970), Kline (1970), Ward and Braun (1972), Brand (1974) Kirn (1974) Epstein et al (1975), and Vershure (1976).

The trend coincides with the reported upsurge in "black consciousness" throughout the Western world. The determination of the extent to which this trend has been paralled in New Zealand enters the bounds of the purposes of the present study, but prior to detailing these purposes, an examination of conceptual and methodological considerations is in order.

4. CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

These are essential considerations for any who peruse the results of research of this kind. So often dramatic results are quoted with little or no consideration of how they were derived, and this is possibly the source of most major criticisms of this type of research.

(a) The meaning of preference

The work of Tajfel et al (1972) raises the question of how the frequent finding of a marked lack of own-group preference (as opposed to a definite own-group rejection) is to be interpreted. In this particular study English children showed a clear preference for figures denoted as "English" over those denoted as "not English". When Scots children shown no such apparent preference for their own nationality, this was interpreted as a possible devaluation of their own group. Obviously such an interpretation merits more than a mere examination of preference choice data. The Scots children may simply lack any marked outgroup prejudice. While reasonable own-group acceptance

is an obviously desirable goal for minority groups, investigators should be wary of the limitations of criteria such as used above in its measurement. (One wonders if the strong "own -group preference" shown by members of groups such as the National Front is indicative of a "healthy" racial pride.)

The data of Fox and Jordon (1973) suggests that the phenomenon of own -group preference is not a function of the group with which comparison is made, but occurs regardless of the other -group option. Tajfel (1970) casts some light on this, contending that:

> "Certain societies create, or contribute to what might be called a "generic" outgroup attitude: in other words, that norms, values, and expectations present in their modes of socialization and education foster or reinforce a tendency to behave differentially towards outgroups and ingroups even when such behaviour has no "utilitarian value to the individual, and even when a particular categorization has very little meaning in terms of the emotional investment that it represents, and in terms of differences between groups on which it is based." (Emphasis added)

(See also Wetherell 1978)

Indeed, to what extent does a preference for one's own group imply a rejection of another? Morland (1962) avoids this problem by differentiating racial "bias" from racial "prejudice". Vaughan (1957) considered the possibility that the white bias apparent in Pakeha playmate choice may have been more a matter of choosing the figure "most like them" - a perceptual rather than a racial choice. The nature of the test materials themselves have been implicated as creating an exaggerated impression of a strong own -group rejection by minority group children.

(b) Test Artifacts

Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) contend that the use of two ethnic dolls (whereby the child is asked to choose one or other in response to questions of identity or preference) creates a "forced choice" situation, the results of which give a misleading impression of the magnitude of ethnic misidentity among minority group children. Repeating the procedure of Clark and Clark (1939), they included a mulatto doll to the black and the white options and the incidence of apparent

misindentification by black children was, in this analysis, only negligibly higher than that shown by white children. It was suggested that a certain amount of misidentification is to be expected in children regardless of their race, and that the reported magnitude of this in black children may to a large extent be a function of the tests. Lerner and Schoeder (1975) have also demonstrated evidence for their belief that a dichotomization of racial preferences is largely derived from the method of assessment used. This they did by utitlising three different methods on kindergarten children. The "forced choice" method resulted in the oft reported well?dichotomized pattern of racial preferences, biased against blacks. The use of an open-ended technique, however, revealed little evidence that such attitudes exist at all in these children. Teplin (1977) came to similar conclusions, the results of his study indicating that racial preferences expressed in imaginary stiatuions (as invoked by the tests) are poor predictors of racial choice patterns as measured in more reality -oriented social settings.

The phenomenon may be likened to a "landslide" election result. While the voting population perceive little difference between two major political parties, when confronted with a "forced choice" the party seen as having the slight edge appears, as evidenced by the voting behaviour patterns, to receive overwhelming support. More by default than by reality, the other party experiences overwhelming rejection. Both politics and racial preference research would benefit, it seems, from the adoption of more flexible and open-ended techniques of attitude assessment.

On a different note, Melamed (1968) suggests that age differences in racial awareness may also in part be a function of tests materials. (Every tests result is, at least in part, a function of the test materials - the question is more one of construct validity.) He suggests that while both younger and older children are capable of distinguishing racial groups in real life, in tests of racial awareness, older children are able to utilize cues additional to those utilized by the younger

children. The results of paired -association learning tasks show that the use of colour cues are firmly established by the age of six, and that age differences in the learning of other cues may partly account for reported age differences in racial awareness, particularly from those tests which involve cues other than colour, and where monochrome pictures render the colour cue less obvious.

(c) Race of Experimenter

Some investigators have reported that when tested by an experimenter of their own race, minority group children show more own group acceptance, (Sattler 1970) while white children are so affected. Kirn (1974) reports greater preference for a black doll over a white by black American children when tested by a black experimenter. Jahoda et al (1972) similarly found greater own-race accpetance by Asian children in Britain when tested by an Indian.

Other studies however, reveal conflicting results. Morland (1958), Hraba and Grant (1970), Clark and Clark (1947), found no significant effects from the experiementer's race, while Epstein et al (1975) found that a white experimenter elicited more black preference statements from black children by using a black experimenter. Vaughan (1963b) found that while the Maori child was unaffected by the experimenter's race in his responses to tests of racial awareness, greater Pakeha favouritism was shown with a Pakeha tester than with Maori during tests of racial attitudes. Younger Maoris did not show this tendency. It is likely that a minority group child is more acutely sensitized to his race when in the presence of a white (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1973). The specific context in which testing occurs would be likely to determine the direction of the influence of the experimenter's race, if any, and involved would be the child's attitude to the tester as a person, and the nature of the race relations experienced by the child and his particular reaction to them. A climate of conflict may increase the salience of racial identity to the extent

that stronger own -race acceptance may be displayed to a white tester for example. The exact relationship would, however, be difficult to delineate, involving as it would the identification of a complex of both personal and social variables.

The phenomenon should be borne in mind in the interpretation of the findings. If the investigator is sensitized to the possibility of an experimenter effect, then this should enlighten rather than invalidate his results. If, for example, the Maori is inclined to devalue his own race due, to an extent, to the presence of a Pakeha, then this should be considered a valid reflection of real life processes.

(d) Other variables.

It may well be that for younger children at least, the salience of variables such as sex overrides that of race, as Able and Sahinkaya (1962) discovered in their examination of friendship choice. Epstein et al (1975) found cleaniness to be of greater concern to children than race when it came to friendship choice, with white children preferring a clean black, to a dirty white child as a playmate. Some suggest that an anti -black bias stems from a more general association of black with dirtiness, or even more generally, with bad or evil. Such an association can be seen in literature and other art forms extending from the present back to the origins of the printed word.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH DESIGN

1. INTRODUCTION AND AIMS

Discussed in the previous chapter were the results of studies of the racial attitudes of New Zealand children which taken overall, suggest that such results are a reflection of the social context from which they derive, and possibly vice versa.

Although deviating to a large extent from the procedures of Vaughan, Hills, and Awatere, it is hoped that the retention of the basic conceptual assumptions underlying those studies, will enable the present study to contribute to the continuity of the guaging of New Zealand children's racial attitudes as they reflect the social context they experience. The study will enable the comparison of the attitudes of South Island Maori and Pakeha children in 1977 with predominantly North Island children of the early 1960's, with Awatere's 1971 Auckland study offering strong suggestions as to the likely direction in which such attitudes may be moving.

Excluded from the studies so far have been South Island Maori children. The socio-cultural environment of this group appears to be markedly different from that experienced by North Island Maoris. While 10.4% of the North Island population is Maori, only 1.7% of the South Island population is so, amounting to a dramatically lower Maori/Pakeha ratio. Furthermore the South Island Maori is unlikely to have experienced a predominantly Maori community, as in the rural North Island areas where the Marae is central to many Maori communities. The North Island cities also have areas of predominantly Maori or Polynesian composition, particularly Auckland, where recent estimates put the combined Maori & Polynesian population at 18%. Maori culture in the South Island thus exists somewhat as a seperate entity

as many, if not most, South Island Maoris live in relative isolation from other Maori families, at least to the extent of their forming a predominantly Maori social community. Maori culture is experience by children via visits to the museum, or via a detached "social studies" type examination of historical life styles. Efforts are, however, being made by the schools, through Maori language studies, to foster an appreciation of Maori culture as it hopefully, or at least ideally, reflects contempory New Zealand recognition of the values it endears. It is noteworthy that each of the schools involved in the study had been undertaking a programme of Maori language studies to a greater or lesser degree within the last year.

In the light of the above, the aim of the study was to assess in both Maori and Pakeha children their awareness of race, their patterns of identity and racial preference, and their racial attitudes in terms of particular held stereotypes.

2. TEST MATERIALS

The format of the present tests was inspired by a consideration of the methods used in British and American studies, as well as those of previous New Zealand studies. The tests were devised according to their considered validity for the specific purposes of the study, and the strategies of previous research were conformed to, in which racial awareness, identity, and preference were each accorded a seperate and specific context.

(a) Awareness

In this study "awareness" is perhaps misleading. Rather, the objective was to assess racial "salience." The tests were similar in format to the picture discrimination tests used by Vaughan (1964) in which three faces were presented, for example of one Maori and two Pakeha boys, of which the subject was asked to indicate "which one is different." It was felt, however, that asking a child "which one is different" of

figures differing by colour only, is likely to give a spurious indication of "racial awareness," as in the context of a purely perceptual task children have little difficulty in discriminating colour. Accordingly, it was considered more useful for the purposes of the present study to present triads of male - female, Maori - Pakeha combinations, e.g. a Maori girl, a Maori boy, and a Pakeha boy. Consequently, ... "which one is different" allows two criteria by which this can be judged - race or sex, and the saliences of these variables can be assessed in relation to each other.

Preceding the test items were "fillers", such as two apples and a banana, which ensured that the nature of the question was understood. They were followed by five race - sex triads as described, themselves followed by two sets in which one figure differed by race only, similar to the Vaughan format described. The items were in coloured crayon.

Responses were recorded in terms of the criteria by which the choice was made - race or sex, or in the case of the last two items, whether a "correct" choice was made.

(b) Identity

An "identikit" task, similar to that described by Jahoda et al (1972) was utilized in preference to ethnic dolls, partly because of methodological considerations already discussed, but largely because it was felt that this method avoided the conceptual confusion of identity with preference.

The identikit consisted of various features which could be combined to form a face:

i) Six faces - three flesh shades; light, medium, and dark. Two shapes.
ii) Three noses - varying shapes
iii) Three mouths.
iv) Three eye colours.
v) Nine hair choices - three colours, three lengths.

Together, these allowed for some 1458 different combinations. The flesh shades were tuned to approximate, as unambiguously as possible, the Pakeha skin colour (light), and the Maori skin colour (medium and dark). Methodological error was avoided by excluding from the study those Maoris whose skin colour was not judged to be dark enough to unambiguously resemble the medium and dark shades in the identikit (as opposed to the light).

Each subject was asked to "make up a face that looks like you". The items were presented seperately and the subject invited to make the appropriate choice. At the completion of the task the subject was given the opportunity to replace, if he wished, any features so that he had a face maximally appropriate to physical self -resemblance. Thus was intended to minimize the effects of a possible random selection of features. Responses were recorded in terms of the skin colour chosen in each case. (As few changes were made, data is based upon the final choice).

(c) Attitudes/Stereotypes.

Stereotypes are not to be thought of as being independent of specific social contexts. Accordingly, test figures were depicted in a series of picture cards, each portraying a particular social situation for which the designation of various role -functions was appropriate. The picture cards were as follows:

i) Four children in a classroom; two girls (one Maori, one Pakeha), two boys - (one Maori, one Pakeha). In the foreground is seated a teacher. The subject is told: "The teacher is marking the work -books. Which one of the children does good work?"

The response in each case is recorded in terms of the race of the figure chosen.

ii) Four children in a classroom (as above). In this case the teacher is standing facing the class. S is told: "The teacher is angry. Who was naughty?"

iii) Four girls, - two Maori, two Pakeha, are playing with a ball. Another watches from the foreground.
S is told: "This girl is about to go home from school. She wants to take a friend home with her. Who will she take?"

iv) Two men - a Maori and a Pakeha, converse. Both wear overalls.
S is told: "These men are builders. Which one is the boss?"

v) Four boys - two Maori, two Pakeha, are playing with a ball. Another looks on.
S is told: "This boy is afraid to go and play with the others because one of them is mean and always hits him. Which one is it?"

vi) Two men in suits, one Maori, one Pakeha, are standing together.
S is told: "These men work in an office. Which one is the boss?"

The responses to each of the above can be assessed in terms of their indication of a particular racial stereotype, except perhaps for card iii) (playmate preference). Racial preference as such, was measured more directly by the following.

At the completion of the identikit task, each subject was then invited to "make up afface that you would <u>like</u> to look like." Recorded was the skin colour chosen - light, medium, or dark.

After the presentation of picture card (v) another was presented which simply depicted two faces - identical except for skin colour - light (pakeha), and dark (Maori). There were two sets of this item. Male faces were presented to the boys, and female to the girls. The subjects were asked; "Which one do you like?"

While responses to this item would be considered to reflect an overall racial "preference", it is likely that in this context they engender an element of racial

"identity" - not in the sense that the child "sees himself as being", but in the sense that he would "prefer to be" the figure of his choice. It is possible that previous research has confused these two senses. Also to be borne in mind, of course, is the limitations of the "forced choice" method, which is particularly applicable to the final item.

Tests of this nature can, in the end, only be considered "approximations" and their validity lies mainly in their interpretation. It is important to freely acknoweldge that the findings of any such study are to a large degree a function of the particular materials and methods adopted.

3. SUBJECTS AND TESTING

Sixty-five Maori and sixty Pakeha children aged between five and ten were drawn from three primary schools in the Christchurch metropolitan area. Because of the low Maori/Pakeha ratio it was necessary to include every Maori of the appropriate age range in the study, and to match as far as possible with Pakehas, similar in age, sex, and level in the same class. As the tests were largely dependent on a perceptual criterion for denoting race, it was considered appropriate to invoke the non-ambiguity of each subject's skin colour as it related to his racial classification as a prerequisite for inclusion in the study. We ended up with the following cells:

		Subjects	
		Maori	Pakeha
Age	5 - 6	21	17
	7 - 8	18	13
	9 - 10	26	30

Previous research reports little, if any, sex differences. Quensecontly this variable was not considered in the data analysis.

In each case testing was done by myself, a male Pakeha. A typical testing session was completed within ten minutes. Rapport was very good, with little evidence of "whakama", which was probably due in part to the pre - test issue of sweets. The children approached the tests with interest and enthusiasm, often vying for the opportunity to partake in the project. The headmasters and teachers of the schools were co -operative, and gratitude is owed to them for their help and contribution to the positive attitude of the children.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS, DISCUSSION, AND CONCLUSION

I. RESULTS

1. Racial awareness

The data (Table 1) indicates that given sex by which to differentiate figures, race itself does not assume greater salience than this criteria. Only two subjects consistently invoked race over cards 1 to 5 to denote "which is different". Table 1a indicates the proportion of choices based on race over cards 1 to 5.

Cards 6 and 7 allowed only for the criteria of race, and Table 1b indicates that the subjects were capable of recognizing colour differences when required.

Table 1c represents the proportion of subjects in each age group who consistently used sex as the basis for their choices over cards 1 to 5.

The response patterns were not characterized by differences over either the subjects' ages or their race.

TABLE 1. RACIAL AWARENESS

% Choice by race : cards 1-5

(a)

S's \ AGE	5-6	7-8	9-10
M	24.8	23.3	29.2
P	10.6	29.2	22.0

% S's correct on both cards 6 & 7

(b)

	5-6	7-8	9-10
M	76.2	83.3	73.1
P	76.5	76.9	80

Consistent choice by sex over cards 1 - 5

(c)

age	5-6	7-8	9-10
M	28.6	38.8	34.6
P	58.8	30.7	40

2. Identikit - Identity and Preference

(a) Maori subjects

Fig I shows the patterns of responses of Maori subjects on the identikit tasks of identity and preference.

Fig 1 (a) indicates that there is increasing recognition with age of his skin colour - the indication of self as being "light" becomes less frequent and responses tend more towards medium and dark. At the same time, however, his preference for being "light" skinned shows a definite increase.

Fig 1 (b) indicates an increasing age tendency for Maori children to see themselves as "medium", i.e. light brown -skinned.

The decreased preference for this colour after age 7 - 8 is a function of the increassing preference for being"light", as is a low and decreasing preference for "dark". (fig 1c) While the indication of self being dark is low at age 5 - 6 (.29) it is even lower at age 9 - 10 (.19). Magnitudes of identity with, and preference for "dark" co-incides at ages 7-8, 9-10. Further analysis of each individual's responses were made to determine the extent that this coincidence reflected actual coincidence of identity with preference. Of the 44 subjects in the age range 7 to 10 (where greatest coincidence was apparent), 10 identified with "dark", 10 preferred "dark", but only two subjects both identified with, and preferred dark.

None of the age trends were statistically significant.

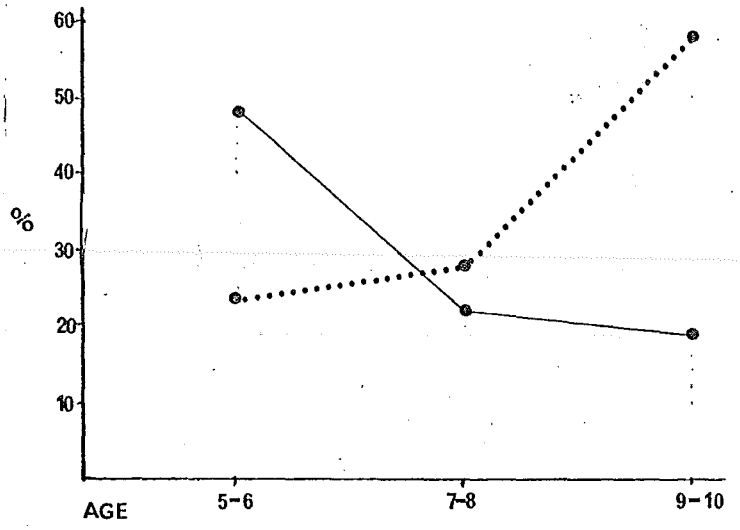
(b) Pakeha subjects

Fig 2 reveals little misidentity among Pakeha children. Overall, 80% identified themselves as being "light" with the remainder portraying themselves as "medium". One 5 year old only saw himself as being "dark".

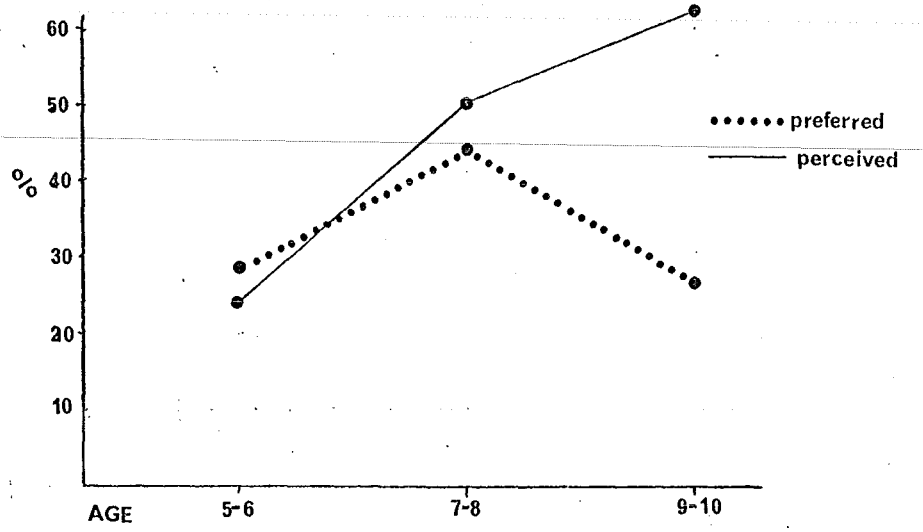
Age saw a slight trend away from preference for "light". The age trends were non -significant.

FIG 1. MAORI IDENTITY AND PREFERENCE

A. Choice of light



B. Choice of medium



C. Choice of dark

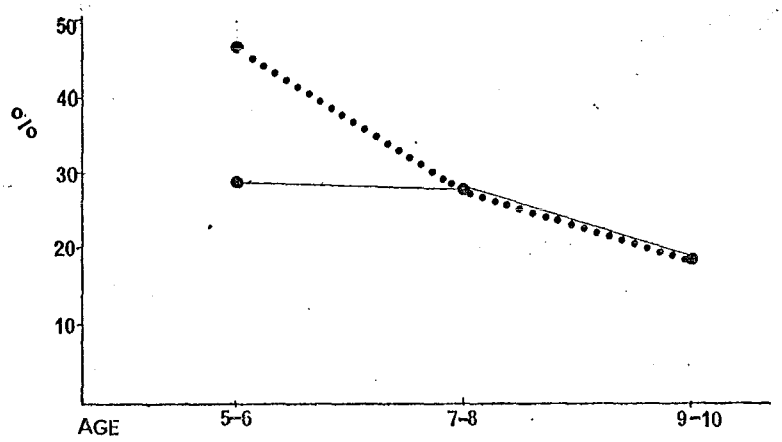
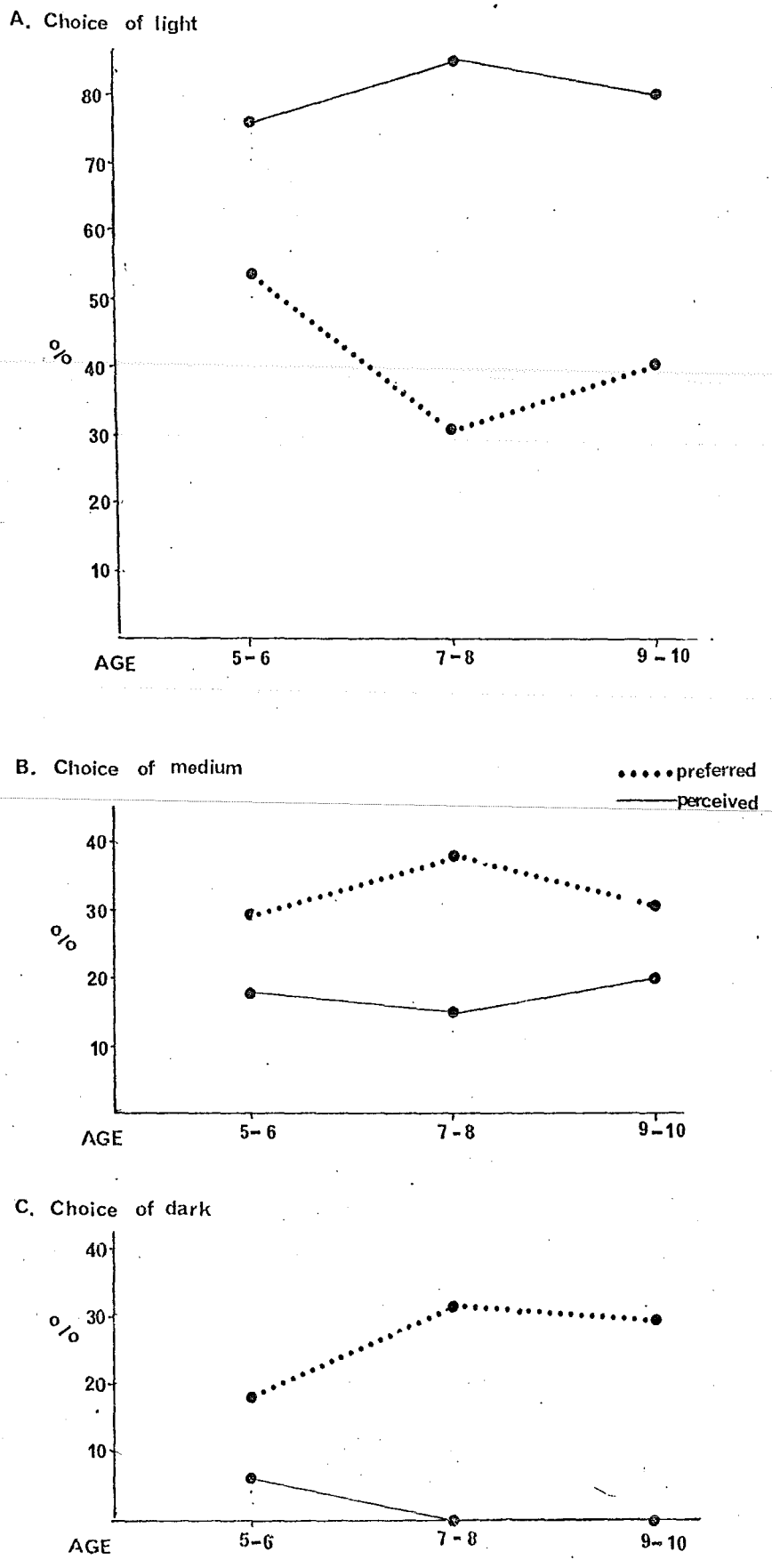


FIG 2. PAKEHA IDENTITY AND PREFERENCE



3. Picture Preference

A greater preference was shown for the Maori figure by Maori children than by Pakeha children, although preference for the Pakeha over the Maori was significant for both races. (Fig 3) ($P < .05$)

Consistent with identikit responses the Pakeha showed a decreasing preference for light skin with age, though the slight increase in preference for the Maori figure by Maori children was at variance with their identikit responses. These age trends were not significant.

4. Projected Friend Choice

The increasing preference with age for the Pakeha figure by Pakeha subjects was significant at the .01 level ($X^2 = 9.48$, 2df). (Fig 4). Overall Pakeha preference was also significant. ($P < .01$) The Maori children showed an increase in own -race preference to age 7 - 8, but there was a reversion at age 9 - 10 to a Pakeha preference. Age differences were short of significance, though the overall Pakeha preference was significant. ($P < .05$) for Maori children.

5. Schoolwork stereotype

Approximately similar responses were made by both Maori and Pakeha subjects in that both saw the Pakeha as more likely to produce "good schoolwork" than would the Maori ($p < .01$). This tendency increased to age 7 - 8 and decreased slightly to age 9 - 10. The age trends were non -significant. (Fig. 5).

6. "Naughty" stereotype

Similarly, the Maori was seen by both races as more likely than the Pakeha to be chastised in the classroom for being "naughty" ($p < .01$). This was more apparent in Maori subjects at age 5 - 6, showing a decrease with age. The Pakeha showed an increase to age 7 - 8, thereafter a slight decrease in their attribution. (Fig 6)

7. "Bad" stereotype

While the younger Pakehas saw the Maori more as being "mean", this tendency was not apparent from age 7 - 8.

The Maori, however, saw the Pakeha as the mean or bullying child ($p < .05$). There were no significant age differences. (Fig 7)

FIG 3; PICTURE PREFERENCE

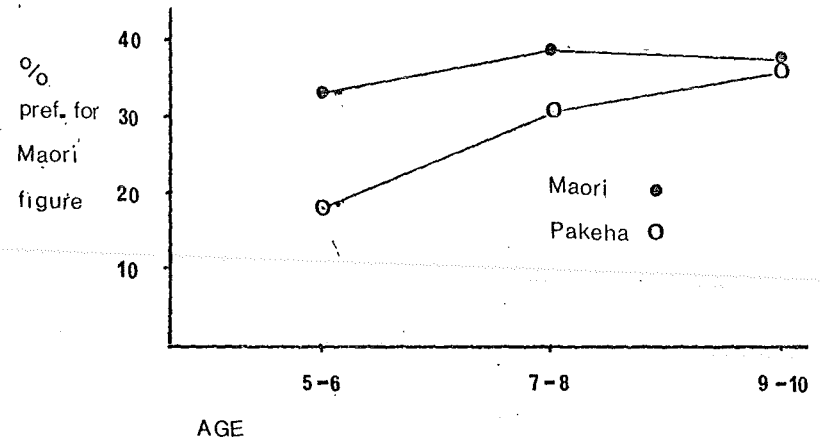


FIG 4; PROJECTED FRIEND CHOICE

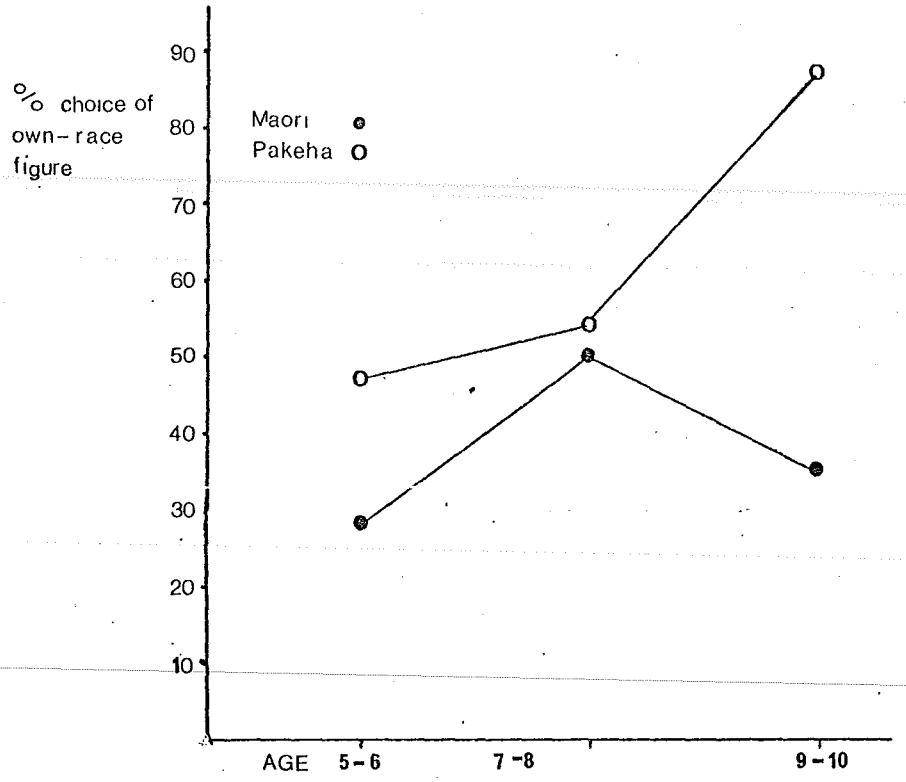


FIG 5; SCHOOLWORK STEREOTYPE

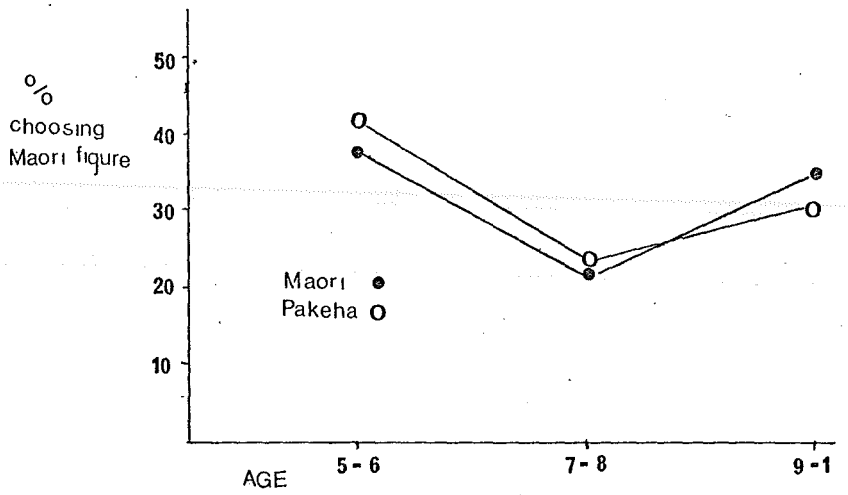


FIG 6; "NAUGHTY" STEREOTYPE

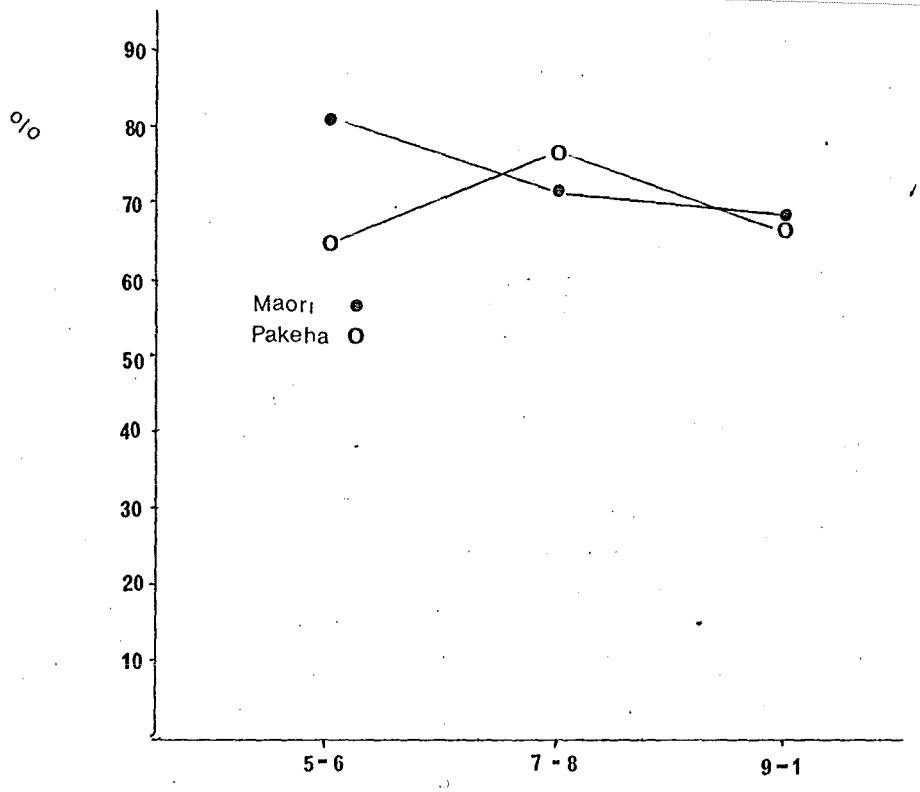


FIG 7; "BAD" STEREOTYPE

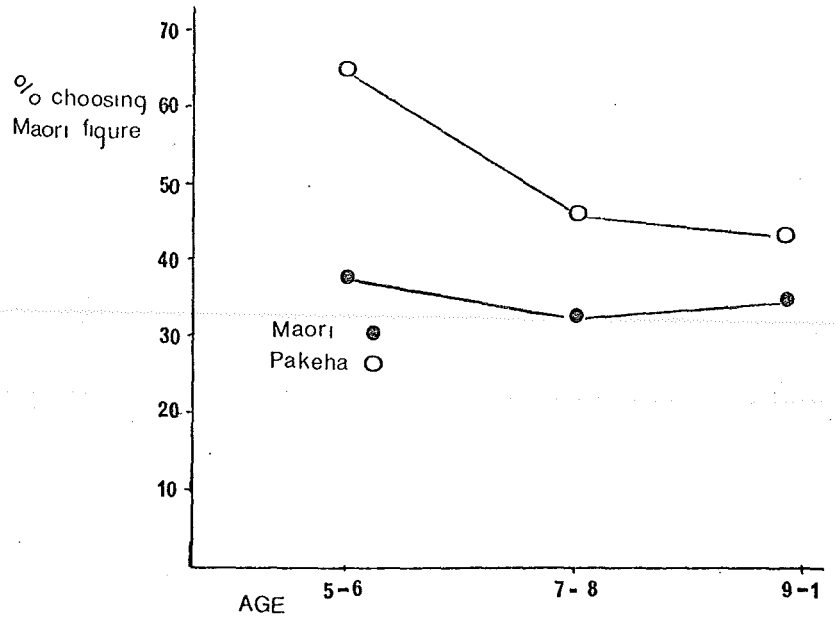
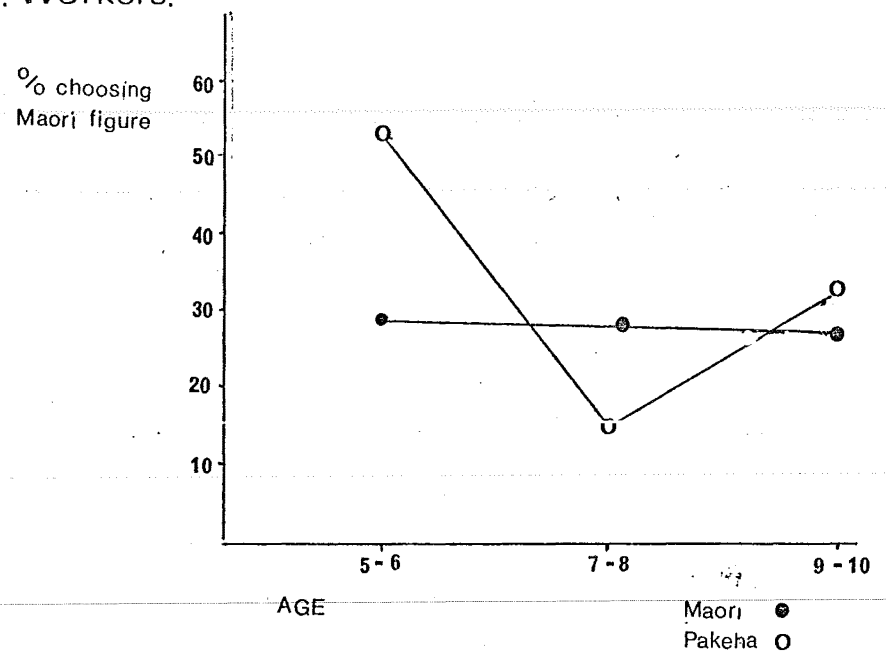
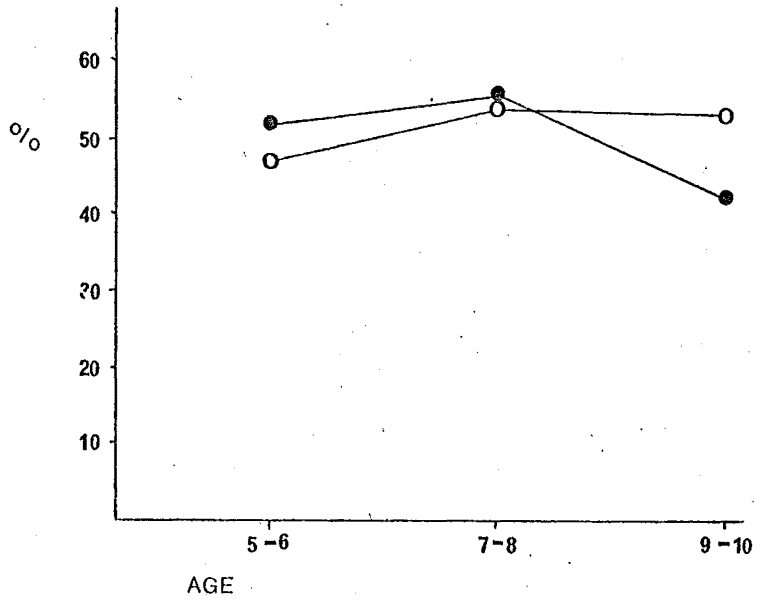


FIG 8; "BOSS" STEREOTYPE

A. Workers.



B. Professionals.



8. "Boss" steretype

When depicted as "builders", both races denoted the Pakeha as being the "boss" ($p < .05$). This tendency was consistent over age for the Maori subjects. The Pakeha however, had developed this tendency at age 7 - 8 and showed a lesser tendency at age 9 - 10 (Fig 8A).

When depicted as professionals, test figures were not differentiated by either race as either employer or employee (Fig 8B).

II. DISCUSSION

1. Awareness

When measured in terms of its relative "salience", in this case compared to that of sex, race is not readily invoked as a criteria for discriminating among figures. Given no other criteria however, it appears that children are quite capable of making "racial" dis - criminations. This is noteworthy in that it emphasizes the fact that in the preference and stereotype tests, the children are forced to make discriminations which, in everyday life, may not be made at all.

Contrary to the findings of previous New Zealand studies, no - age related development of this ability was apparent with all age-groups showing a high ability. This could, in part, be a function of the different procedures adopted. The present study did not for example, require the subjects to apply a racial label to the test figures.

2. Identity and Preference

At age 5 - 6, the Maori displayed a high degree of misidentity, with 48% identifying themselves as "light". This figure decreases progressively to 19% at 9 - 10. Those studies which adopted the method of Vaughan, produced results suggesting that such Maori misidentity is associated with a desire to be white. The present study, however, found that as the Maori increases in his recognition

that he is not white, so does his preference for being white increase, from 24% at age 5 - 6, to 54% at age 9 - 10.

It is possible that the identikit method, as opposed to the "forced choice" method, obliges the subject to confront reality rather than respond to the identity task more as a "wish fulfillment". Furthermore, as Pakeha preference is more apparent in the older Maori children, such preference is not likely to be confused with identity, due to a greater level of cognitive maturity. The data indicated that there was little association between each individual's identity response and their preference response. The option of a "medium" choice, which was identified with increasingly with age, may account for little Maori identity with "dark".

The picture preference data did not reveal the above increasing Pakeha preference of the Maori, although overall their preference was biased toward the Pakeha. This test represented a more blatant form of racial preference and as such is more likely to be influenced by the race of the experimenter. The age trend was slight, however, tending if anything, away from a Pakeha preference. A possible explanation may be that the in Maori studies programmes experienced by these children, they were encouraged to emphasize and show appreciation of their Maoriness. Accommodation to the experimenter may take the form of an increasing tendency to choose the Maori figure, offsetting any "real" Pakeha preference as revealed in their identikit responses. This, however, cannot go beyond mere speculation without further research.

The choice of a friend, while biased towards the Pakeha at age 5 - 6, saw a reprieve of this tendency at age 7 - 8, but again reverted at age 9 - 10.

If the interpretation of an increasing Pakeha preference, and a corresponding decreasing Maori preference by Maori children is to be accepted, then this indicates the experience of South Island Maoris to differ from that of their North Island peers. As mentioned in the introduction, the South Island Maori truly experienced 'minority' status in that there are few significant Maori communities with which he can readily identify. Despite the possibility that the North

Island Maori experiences a greater degree of open hostility towards him (as a subjective evaluation of the comparative situations suggests), he is strong enough in numbers and community spirit to maintain a healthy self-esteem and racial pride. The Maori child's identity is more secure. Increasing awareness of issues concerning the rights of the Maori, (such as the Bastion Point issue) no doubt serves to strengthen a sense of Maori pride.

As for the Pakeha, little evidence of misidentity is apparent, with 80% correctly identifying themselves as "light". The remainder saw themselves as medium, with only one 5 year old indicating that he was dark. Their preferences also follow the patterns of previous studies, with an increasing preference for "medium" and "dark". The picture preference data is consistent with the identikit data in that an increasing preference with age for dark skin is indicated, (although only reaching 37% at age 9 - 10). Whether this is an actual racial preference, or merely a reflection of society's approval of a good suntan is unclear. Part of the answer may lie in the fact that the increasing preference for a Pakeha playmate (Fig 4) by the Pakeha is significant at the .01 level.

What is obviously needed is the use of more open-ended and reality-oriented methods of assessment of racial preferences. Many tests are too narrow in their scope, often going little beyond the test situation itself.

3. Stereotypes

The Maori is seen by both Maori and Pakeha as less likely to do well academically, and more likely to be chastised for inappropriate classroom behaviour. Those who are aware of the effects of expectations upon behavioural outcomes particularly as it relates to educational attainments, should be concerned by the apparent early establishment of this particular stereotype. Supported here are claims that greater sensitivity to the particular needs of the Maori child in the classroom needs to be shown.

It appears that being "naughty" in class is not necessarily seen as a manifestation of an essentially undesirable character. (Fig 7). That the Maori sees the Pakeha as more

likely to be the "mean" one who is liable to hit you, may be interpreted as an expectation of hostility from the Pakeha towards the Maori. Again this can't go beyond speculation without further research. This also applies to the following interpretation: that the increasing desire to be white (Fig 1) is not necessarily associated with an increasing attraction to the Pakeha character.

In overalls, the Maori is seen as employee, the Pakeha, as the boss. In suits, no distinction is made. At higher status levels, it seems, the employer-employee stereotype is inappropriate. In effect the "professional"Maori has transcended the bounds of his racial stereotype as it relates to the expectations held for his eventual employment. Maoris of relatively high-status occupations experienced by the children are in fact, fairly autonomous. Perhaps a more relevant question would be "of the Maori and the Pakeha,who is more likely to reach these positions?" Having done so, it is a fait accompli - to differentiate between employer and employee becomes irrelevant.

III. CONCLUSIONS

The significance of these findings lie not in the fact that these stereotypes are held. Indeed, such stereotypes are largely a reflection of reality - the Maori does do less well academically and vocationally. What is of concern is that such stereotypes represent for the Maori child what is expected of him, and that the socialization of these expectations is apparent at age 5 and 6. Already he does not expect to do well at school, or to attain any employment position of responsibility. To dismiss these concerns as ethnocentric is to evade the point. The fact that the Maori child expresses an increasing desire to be a Pakeha indicates that he feels inferior in the Pakeha world.

A positive Maori identity has not been maintained by the token recognition that Maori culture tends to receive in con - tempory New Zealand.

> "Maoritanga is simply not recognized for what it is. What is recognized is a kind of Maori decor around the vacancy in New Zealand's heart. This is why the All Blacks insist upon, or perfunctory mangle, the pre -match haka".
>
> (Jackson, 1975) [19]

To "teach" Maoritanga in a cultural vacuum is not to actively incorporate its values and heritage into the experience of New Zealand's young. While this may sound like "emotional claptrap" (a term used by the present Prime Minister regarding the call for the extension of Maori language studies in schools) the manner in which we have attempted to cater for cultural diversity has been little short of patronizing.

> "No Pakeha has Maoris telling him to be not only a more culturally distinct, but also an implicity better Pakeha. No Maori politician patronizes Pakeha delinquents and takes joy rides on their motorcycles. No Pakeha feels he is letting his race down when he drops out of university. No Pakeha enters a profession carrying (or made to feel he carries) the honour of his race. No Pakeha identifies with American White Power....No Pakeha has other Pakehas telling him he should learn a language (for moral reasons) of which he has little or no knowledge or which he has no real desire to acquire".
>
> (Ritchie, 1973) [20]

The "we are one people" concept has lead to there being only lip-service paid to the requirements of the identity of the Maori New Zealander, and to the essentially Maori flavour said to embody New Zealand society as a whole. A far deeper remediation is required than such actions as the scrutinizing of children's literature for racist portrayals. The directions in which actions need to be directed are indicated by studies such as these. The specifics, however, are the perogative of the educationalists and policy makers, who hopefully seek out the views of those who are close to the needs of the Maori people. The fact that three successive Ministers of Education have endorsed the provision for the instruction in Maori language courses in primary schools, demonstrates that official lead is being made, but there have been examples of irresponsible government actions in this area. The landslide nature of the 1975 election outcome is a grim indication of public

vulnerability to government attitudes. Dark-skinned immigrants featured in television commercials, arriving in their hordes to create large-scale unemployment. The impression this was bound to create was no doubt compounded by the manner in which the government approached the "overstayers" problem. Pre-dawn police raids and the random checking of anyone who looked "foreign" indicated a hostile outgroup attitude to observers. Polynesians, although comprising only a small percentage of migrants, bore the brunt of this action, becoming the "visible" evidence for our unemployment problems.

On the positive side, official sanction could do much for race relations in New Zealand. The Race Relations Act, 1971, and the appointment of a Race Relations Conciliator has no doubt restricted the incidence of blatant discriminiation as such behaviour is no longer deemed legitimate.

> "The law, as an abstract embodiment of principles, has great moral force. People tend to look upon the law, not just as an expression of what must be done, but of what it is also right to do. From our everyday experience, we must appreciate the full price of the argument that law and morality are, to a large degree, co-extensive."
>
> (Lawson, 1972)[21]

New Zealand may yet reclaim the title of a successful multi-cultural society if it is prepared to give up its chauvinistic attitude to its minority ethnic groups and to cater for the cultural diversity and plural lifestyles of its peoples.

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APPENDICES

TABLE 2. RACIAL IDENTITY AND PREFERENCE:

A. Maori subjects.

a) Proportion choosing 'light'

Age	5-6	7-8	9-10
Perc.	.48	.22	.19
Pref.	.24	.28	.58

b) Proportion choosing 'medium'

Age	5-6	7-8	9-10
Perc.	.24	.50	.62
Pref.	.29	.44	.27

c) Proportion choosing 'dark'

Age	5-6	7-8	9-10
Perc.	.29	.28	.19
Pref.	.47	.28	.19

B. Pakeha subjects.

a) Proportion choosing 'light'

Age	5-6	7-8	9-10
Perc.	.76	.85	.80
Pref.	.53	.31	.40

b) Proportion choosing 'medium'

Age	5-6	7-8	9-10
Perc.	.18	.15	.20
Pref.	.29	.38	.30

c) Proportion choosing 'dark'

Age	5-6	7-8	9-10
Perc.	.06	.00	.00
Pref.	.18	.31	.30

TABLE 3. PICTURE PREFERENCE

% Choosing Maori figure

Subjects \ Age	5-6	7-8	9-10	Overall
Maori	33	39	38	36*
Pakeha	18*	31	37	30*

* Choice of Pakeha over Maori figure significant $p<.05$

Age trends: Maori subjects $X^2_2 = 0.17$, df N.S.
Pakeha subjects $X^2 = 1.43$, df N.S.

Maori vs Pakeha choice patterns, $X^2 = 0.67$, 1df N.S.

TABLE 4. PROJECTED FRIEND CHOICE

% Choosing own-race figure

Subjects \ Age	5-6	7-8	9-10	Overall
Maori	29	50	35	37*
Pakeha	47	54	87***	68**

* Choice of Pakeha over Maori figure significant at $p<.05$
** Choice of Pakeha over Maori figure significant at $p<.01$
*** Choice of Pakeha over Maori figure significant at $p<.001$

Age trends: Maori subjects $X^2_2 = 2.00$, 2df N.S.
Pakeha subjects $X^2 = 9.48$, 2df. Significant at .01 level

Maori vs Pakeha choice patterns, $X^2 = 0.38$ N.S.

TABLE 5. SCHOOLWORK STEREOTYPE

Subjects \ Age	5-6	7-8	9-10	Overall
Maori	38	22*	35	32*
Pakeha	29	23	30*	28**

* Choice of Pakeha over Maori figure significant at $p<.05$
** Choice of Pakeha Maori figure significant at $p<.01$

Table 5 cont.

Age trends: Maori subjects $X^2_2 = 1.25$, 2df N.S.
Pakeha subjects $X^2 = 0.23$, 2df N.S.

Maori vs Pakeha choice patterns, $X^2 = 0.196$, 1df N.S.

TABLE 6. 'NAUGHTY' STEREOTYPE

% Choosing Maori figure

Age / Subjects	5-6	7-8	9-10	Overall
Maori	81**	72	69	74**
Pakeha	65	77	67	68**

** Choice of Maori over Pakeha figure significant at $p < .01$

Age trends: Maori subjects, $X^2_2 = 0.86$, 2df N.S.
Pakeha subjects, $X^2 = 0.71$, 2df N.S.

Maori vs Pakeha choice patterns, $X^2 = 0.416$, 1df N.S.

TABLE 7. 'BAD' STEREOTYPE

% Choosing Pakeha figure

Age / Subjects	5-6	7-8	9-10	Overall
Maori	62	67	65	65 *
Pakeha	35	54	57	50

* Choice of Pakeha over Maori figure significant at $p < .05$

Age trends: Maori subjects, $X^2_2 = 0.11$, 2df N.S.
Pakeha subjects, $X^2 = 2.08$, 2df N.S.

Maori vs Pakeha choice patterns, $X^2 = 2.73$, 1 df N.S.

TABLE 8. 'BOSS' STEREOTYPE

A. 'BUILDERS'

% Choosing Pakeha figure

Age / Subjects	5-6	7-8	9-10	Overall
Maori	71	72	73*	72**
Pakeha	47	85*	67	65*

* Choice of Pakeha over Maori figure significant at $p < .05$

** Choice of Pakeha over Maori figure significant at $p < .01$

Age trends: Maori subjects $X^2_2 = 0.58$, 2df N.S.
Pakeha subjects $X^2 = 4.64$, 2df N.S.

Maori vs Pakeha choice patterns, $X^2 = 0.78$, 1df N.S.

B. 'PROFESSIONALS'

% Choosing Pakeha figure

Age / Subjects	5-6	7-8	9-10	Overall
Maori	48	44	58	51
Pakeha	53	46	47	48

Age trends: Maori subjects $X^2_2 = 0.87$, 2df N.S.
Pakeha subjects $X^2 = 0.2$, 2df N.S.

Maori vs Pakeha choice patterns, $X^2 = .07$, 1df N.S.

FRIEND CHOICE (1)

'BAD' STEREOTYPE

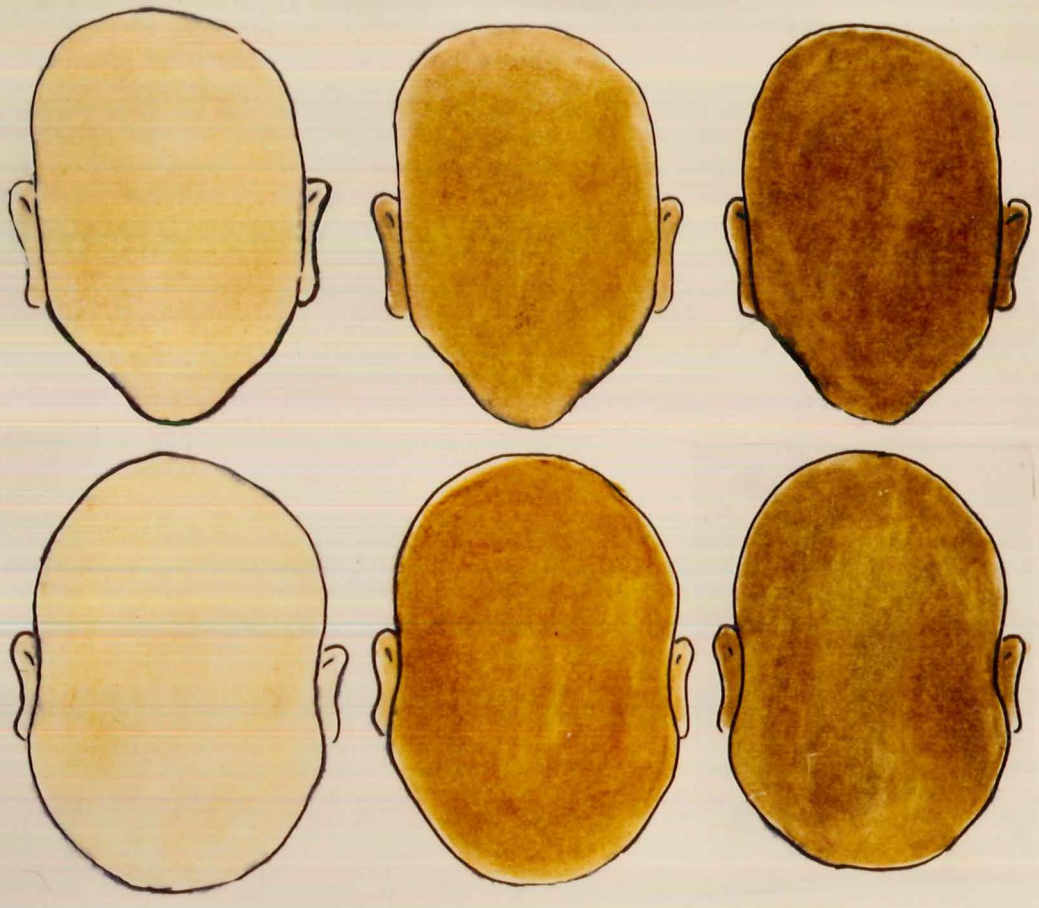
SCHOOLWORK STEREOTYPE

'BOSS' STEREOTYPE A

'NAUGHTY' STEREOTYPE

'BOSS' STEREOTYPE B

IDENTIKIT FACES



RACIAL AWARENESS

PICTURE PREFERENCE